

PEACE NEWS

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CIVIL DEFENCE IN THE USA

By Alfred Hassler

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FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)



"GIVE PLEDGE OF INDEPENDENCE"

-World churches to colonial powers

BY DR HOMER JACK

THE Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches closed its 17-day session last week and delegates went off to all parts of the world, dead tired after debating social and international questions until the very hour of adjournment.

No great pronouncements were made about the international scene, although Bishop George K. A. Bell, of Chichester, successfully offered a resolution asking member churches in all countries to urge their governments to make a new start toward world peace.

This had the support of the delegates present from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany as well as from the West.

During the second week of the Assembly, members divided into six sections on social, and theological issues. The section on social responsibility dealt with the relations between Communism and other ideologies. The section on international affairs more strictly dealt with problems of war and peace.

Their report will serve as a guide to the international arm of the World Council called the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.

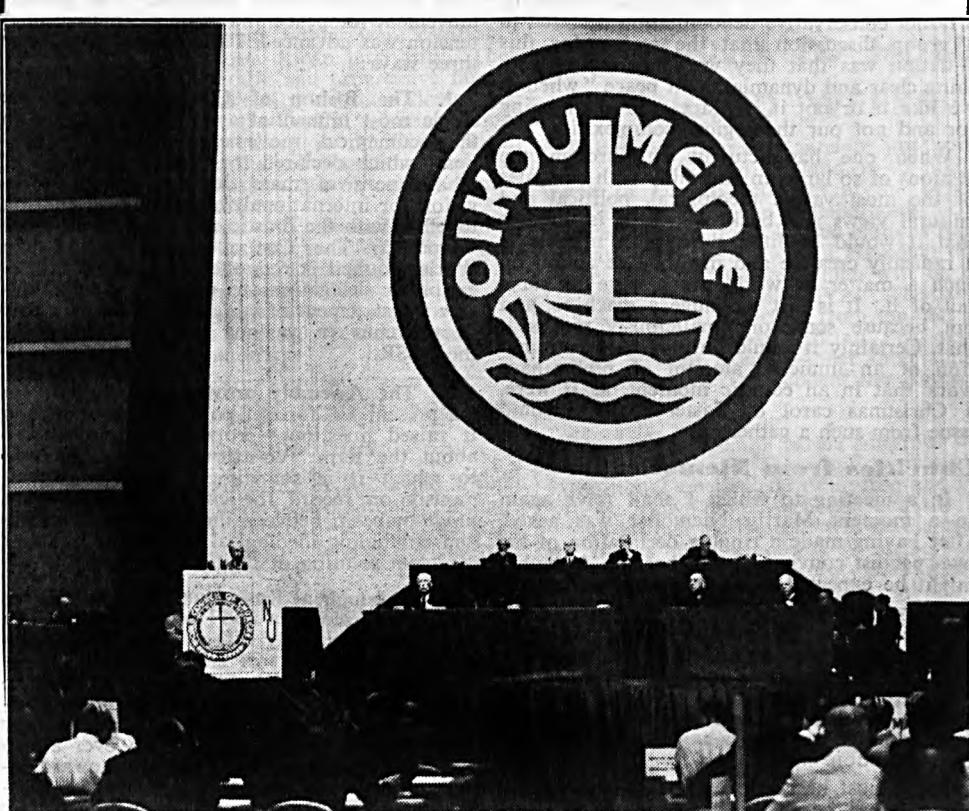
In addition, various actions affecting international relations were taken in other reports. Finally, peace was not ignored in Assembly speeches, press conferences, and in meetings of the Church Peace Mission where Dr. Martin Niemöller caused something of a sensation by taking the out-and-out pacifist position.

The resolution on international affairs prepared by a special sub-committee chaired by the Bishop of Chichester (and also including Charles Malik of Lebanon and Josef Hromadka of Czechoslovakia) urged that "a fresh start be made by all governments and peoples."

The resolution appealed directly to governments to relieve present tensions by:

- 1, continuing to speak to each other and avoid rancour and malice;
- 2, meeting the peaceful needs of their own citizens and those in under-developed countries;
- 3, refraining from words and actions designed to inflame enmity and hatred; and
- 4, visiting between countries and thus strengthening the bonds of fellowship.

WORLD CHURCHES' ASSEMBLY ENDS



The World Council Assembly in session.

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Above: London's second big H-bomb march (the first was led by Dr. Soper last May) last Saturday passes the Nurse Cavell memorial. Shops emptied as customers stepped out on to the pavement to see the band and read the posters. Left: John Hoyland speaking in Trafalgar Square. Seated left to right are: Emrys Hughes, MP, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison and the Rev. Francis Noble.

PIPE BAND LEADS H-BOMB MARCH

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"WE fooled 'em last week," said one veteran Londoner. "When they saw a Scots band coming down Tottenham Court Road they naturally expected to see a bunch of soldiers marching behind them. And what did they get? Pacifists!"

It made a change. To the skirl of the London Pipe Band over a hundred poster-carrying marchers trooped through central London to Trafalgar Square. Prominent among the placards they carried were several bearing the words—"Renounce the H-bomb."

That was the point of the rally, one of the best the pacifist movement has known since the war. Rain early in the day had threatened to spoil the meeting but the clouds cleared and the weather held for the afternoon.

Strollers, visitors from overseas, the curious, the idle, the interested joined the large group of people assembled at the foot of Nelson's column to hear some of Britain's leading pacifists argue the case for renunciation of atomic weapons.

A new way tried

Reminding her hearers of the events in the Pacific earlier this year, Sybil Morrison, chairman of the meeting and of the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee which organised it said:

"Yet we cannot renounce the H-bomb without at the same time renouncing all war. You cannot kill Communism by killing Communists, any more than we killed Fascism in the last war by killing Fascists."

John Hoyland, a well-known Birmingham Quaker told his audience of the effect on Anglo-Egyptian relations achieved by the

decision of Britain to withdraw her forces from the Suez Canal Zone. "A new way was tried, and it was successful," he declared. "What was possible with Egypt, is possible with Russia."

Rev. Francis Noble, vicar of St. Paul's, Orpington, Kent appealed to the British people to worry their MPs until they decided to reverse the "discreditable decision" of April 29, when they voted not to permit Parliament to determine whether or not the H-bomb would be manufactured in Britain.

Tell the whole world

If 600 million Christians carried to its logical conclusion the pronouncement of the Church that war is contrary to the will of Christ, then they must surely see that they could not support, prepare for or take part in it.

Emrys Hughes MP, who had come down specially from Scotland for the meeting, said that there was a greater appreciation of the need to prevent another war than ever before in the history of mankind.

Yet if war was to be avoided Britain must have a realistic foreign policy.

"We must tell the whole world that atom bombers from Britain will not go out to bomb the USSR. It is a danger to this country to have the American Air Force here—it is a mistaken policy." (Applause).

"If the people of Britain want to avoid a third world war, they must demand a change in our foreign policy, which is as obsolete as our army, our navy and our air force."

Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, saw the H-bomb as the latest stage in a process of getting used to violence which had been going on for years. Now many people were scared by the H-bomb, but the moral aspect of the weapon was hardly worried about at all.

The moral challenge

The purpose of the rally that afternoon was to put to the people of Britain the moral challenge which the H-bomb makes. "If we are to acquiesce in the H-bomb, then we have indeed reached the lowest level of any moral conception about life," he said.

"It is a certain fact that if war comes the H-bomb will be used straight away, it is not therefore common sense to renounce the H-bomb without renouncing war itself. You cannot in fact renounce one without renouncing the other."

We should encourage the British Prime Minister to ask the leaders of Russia and America to join with Britain in renouncing the bomb, but if they were not willing then we should make it clear that Britain would go forward alone. If we did not do this, we should become morally tainted with the bomb.

Victor Yates, MP for Ladywood, Birmingham, referred to a recent speech by the Under-Secretary for War, Mr. Hutchinson, who had asked that Britain should prepare for full-scale war. "If you prepare for war, you will get war," he asserted. When he was in the USA a few months ago he was told at Omaha, where aircraft stand ready to set off with the H-bomb, that 25 planes in one raid could do as much

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LABOUR AND EMPIRE

THE Labour Party Statement of Policy on Colonial Affairs is an advance on previous pronouncements on the subject, but it is nevertheless a very inadequate document.

It is inadequate in a number of respects.

In the first place it is inadequate as to length. It is preposterous that a policy for an empire, which does not confine itself to policy but purports also to set out some facts, should be confined to two sides of a foolscap sheet considering the space the Party is ready to devote from time to time to single domestic issues.

To take one example, the statement sets out in its penultimate paragraph some figures relating to the advance of trade unions in the colonies.

"In 1942 there were some 200 trade unions with an estimated membership of about 80,000. By 1951 there were more than 1,000 unions with a membership of 600,000."

That is a pitiful enough record in all conscience, but the statement gives us no breakdown of the figures into racial groups, nor any particulars on the relationship of whites to blacks in the unions.

The statement welcomes the help given to colonial movements by British trade unions, but the British trade union movement as a whole has nothing to be proud of in regard to the development of colonial trade unions, particularly in respect to the breaking down of racial divisions; and whatever obtains regarding Labour Party policy statements as a whole a statement on colonial affairs should be written in the consciousness that it will be read by the inhabitants of the colonies as well as by the British electorate.

Its effect on the former is much more important having regard to the claim that "the interests of the inhabitants must be paramount," however it may be with regard to the voters.

The statement is also inadequate in regard to the vaguely rosy hue it puts upon Labour's past colonial record, which on the whole is not a good one; if it were so the native populations of the colonial territories would look forward with a great deal more hope than they manifest at present to the possibility of a Labour Government.

The statement itself points to one of the Labour Party failures when it remarks that "on the question of the transfer of the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland to the Union of South Africa, the peoples of those territories must be consulted"; a sound principle, but one that the Labour Party has a very dubious right to urge after its approval of the disregarding of the views of the people of Nyasaland and their forcible association with Southern Rhodesia in a Central African Federation.



The greatest inadequacy of the statement, however, is in the passage where it looks most hopeful:

"Arrangements should be made between the Government and the responsible leaders of each territory to fix a date for the transfer of power."

Now the whole virtue of such a policy lies in the fact that it gives the native populations concerned something definite to build upon and does not leave them to depend wholly upon an assurance that at some time, when those who control their lives think proper, this control may be relaxed or even lifted. They have too many good reasons to be suspicious of such assurances.

Apparently the Labour Party Executive has not been able to bring itself to be definite, for it prefuses the passage on date-fixing with the proviso "as soon as the development of each territory makes it practicable" with no indication when this may be. It is, of course, still for the British Government to decide. (Incidentally, British Guiana is not mentioned throughout the document; reference to it would have drawn attention all too pointedly to the worthlessness of such an indefinite promise.)

The core of a satisfactory policy for the colonies is the provision that is to be made for creating the conditions in which democratic self-government will become practicable. The date-fixing should take place immediately, and there should be "racial partnership"—in the sense in which that term is at present used in the colonies—with a view to creating the conditions in a given term of years for the establishment of democratic self-government (by which is meant majority rule) in the territories concerned.

Does anybody believe, given the vague qualification "as soon as the development of each territory makes it practicable" that the settlers in Kenya will permit its practicability to become any greater in that area in the second half of the twentieth century than they have done in the first?

And it is pre-eminently to Kenya that such a policy should be applied.

No carols from Evanston

THE Evanston Assembly has not quite come to an end as this is being written but it is not likely that the closing hours will produce any radical changes, for good or ill, in what has been done about the issue of war and peace.

Walter Marshall Horton of the Oberlin Theological Seminary and an important figure in ecumenical circles made an observation about the Amsterdam 1948 Assembly of the World Council of Churches which comes to mind now.

He said men everywhere were waiting for some "simple word" about peace on earth: they were listening for something like a Christmas carol, so far, no carol has come. In the nature of the case, if it comes it must be from the Church; it cannot come from the State. Well, the Christmas carol will not come from Evanston either.

The Assembly itself was aware of this to a considerable extent. Readers will recall that the main theme was "The Christian Hope." After a week of group discussions on the subject a weighty drafting committee headed by Bishop Hans Lilje, attempted to summarise the thinking of the delegates about the document of some 50 pages which had been placed before them. "Most evident in our agreement," they averred, "is the almost unanimous finding that the Report lacks the note of joyous affirmation and radiant expectancy which should mark a statement of the Christian hope."

Put into simple words this is equivalent to saying: "Our statement on Christian hope has no hope in it and isn't likely to arouse much hope."

One important—and non-pacifist—leader of a rather conservative denomination declared in a group discussion that the reason for this situation was that they were not saying anything clear and dynamic about peace "whether we like it or not it is peace men are longing for and not our theological complexities."

When one has actually sat through the sessions of so large an Assembly with delegates of the most varied theological, political and cultural views and backgrounds, it is obvious that it would be little short of a miracle if a radically creative and imaginative action on such a matter as world peace were to come out of it. It is just too huge a machine, and not because some one maliciously makes it that. Certainly it would be only as a culmination of an immense amount of preliminary work that in an ecstatic moment, as it were, a Christmas carol or Easter anthem would issue from such a gathering.

Chuckles from Niemoller

In a meeting to which I shall refer again in a moment Martin Niemöller was asked, after having made a ringing declaration of his own pacifist conviction, whether the Assembly might be expected to make a similar declaration.

He chuckled, threw up his hands, and said: "I love the World Council of Churches, but when I was submarine commander, I learned that a convoy cannot move faster than its slowest member. This is why we must have pioneer movements such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation."

But I must hasten to correct the impression which I may be giving that Evanston is a loss so far as peace and pacifism are concerned.

Balance of power—or peace area?

THE Observer is a newspaper for which we have considerable respect and admiration; indeed we regard it as the one really liberal organ—in the most generous political sense of that term—that we have left among national newspapers in this country. We regret all the more, therefore, the persistently obscurantist comments it has to make on the way we should face the threat of world destruction under which we all live today.

Objecting to the view that there is any value in having a peace area, or that the more "neutral countries there are in the world, the more likely is it that the risks of war will be kept low," it advocates a policy of what it calls "co-containment" as a means to peaceful co-existence.

Each side in the power conflict is to "contain" the other; it is to do this by means of a "policy of the balance of power (with the accent on the word power)."

The trouble about this conception is that it offers no gleam of hope that there is a positive way out of the present threatening situation.

The Observer passes on to some rather ponderous phrases of vague hopefulness, but all that is meant is that if we can hang on, matching threat with counter-threat, something may turn up in the end to save us. It is a policy of hoping against hope and it is very evident that the Observer must perceive this to be so.

It argues that "peace exists only where it is organised; that is, where it is based on some kind of contractual organisation enforceable by some kind of authority." This it holds to be "in accordance with the basic lesson of man's political experience."

Basic lesson

Where it finds the data from which it draws such a conclusion we frankly do not know. What we do know is that the "basic lesson of man's political experience" is that arrangements for peace based on armed preparations have hitherto broken down; that the breakdown into war this century has been of world dimensions; and that if there is to be any kind of "co-existence" such breakdowns cannot be permitted to happen again.

Pursuing peace by means of a policy of the balance of power is merely playing with words. Britain's historic policy has been that of a balance of power, but it was a policy pursued in a unilateral sense. It sought to maintain a balance on the continent by choosing the scale into which it should throw its own weight, because this best furthered its own policy of imperialist expansion.

It is just nonsense, we believe, to assume that contending groups of powers will consciously aim at maintaining a balance of power.

The accent, as the Observer itself remarks is not on the word "balance" but on "power." There will be a continual attempt on both sides to tilt the balance in its own favour, and such a policy must at last break down in war.

The one hope lies in what the Observer decries as "neutralism." The more peoples who deliberately place themselves in the peace area the more likelihood is there that the new revolutionary political factor that may save the world from destruction may be manifested. It is coming more and more to be seen that there cannot be neutralism in the sense of a mere contracting-out of the threatened world conflict; any disengagement from the power struggle, as India is already showing, must be accompanied by a completely new outlook on world affairs, a new form of dip-

lomatic relations.

BEHIND THE NEWS

lomacy, radical changes in economic conceptions, and we believe also a new conception of the place of man in society.

Socialist differences

A N exchange of views that took place during the visit of the Labour Party delegation to Japan between Mr. Aneurin Bevan and the General Secretary of the Left Socialist Party, Mr. Hiroo Wada, should be noted.

We have always held that there was a lack of reality, and frequently some lack of candour, in the Bevanite approach to the problem of armaments, and also in its presentation of its policy of war on want through help to the under-developed countries.

Mr. Bevan said to the Japanese leader:

"We support the endeavour for a non-aggression pact, but the conclusion of a treaty is not sufficient to guarantee peace. Is it not necessary to have power to defend peace?"

Now it is surely quite obvious that in the face of the present East-West conflict with the stupendous accumulation of armaments on each side, it is useless to talk of having "power to defend peace" on the assumption that this can be achieved with a modest supply of arms that has no measurable relationship to the arms of the two monster blocs—unless one is assuming the necessity of a permanent subordination to one or the other of the blocs. Mr. Bevan's assumption is obviously that for Japan there should be permanent subordination to America.

Mr. Hiroo Wada's comment on this matter was a facing of realities that Mr. Bevan was evading. He said:

"It is senseless to have other armaments in these days of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. We think that the rearmament undertaking will end in our troops being utilized either by the United States or the Soviet Union."

This is obviously true. If Japan enters upon rearmament now it will be under American pressure of the same kind that has been brought to bear on Germany.

Mr. Hiroo Wada perceives that this does not necessarily mean that the arms will be used on the side of the American bloc. They could come to be used on the side of the Russian-Chinese combination if it were ultimately found that to range them on that side gave the Japanese Government more useful bargaining power; just as German arms may ultimately be ranged on the side of Russia as the most effective means to German reunification.

The Socialist Left in Japan have much sounder views on this subject than have the Bevanite Left in this country. The way to peace is not through the accumulation of a modest supply of arms any more than it is through the manufacture of moderate-sized H-bombs, but through the transfer of all the effort devoted to arms to a peaceful reconstruction in world relations.

The Socialist Left in Japan should be given every encouragement.

Atomic co-operation

THE General Assembly of UN is likely to have before it suggestions resulting from discussions between the USA, Britain, Canada and Belgium arising

from the proposal made by President Eisenhower last year for the creation of an international agency for the development of atomic power for industrial, agricultural and medical purposes.

The proposal as it was originally made was intended to embrace Russia as well as other countries that are concerned with the development of atomic energy. Russia has however shown a decided lack of enthusiasm for the proposal although we have so far seen no statement of the objections that the Russian Government urges.

The American Government is therefore proposing to go ahead with the plan for creating such an agency open to such nations as decide to participate.

The original proposal contemplated that there should be small agreed contributions of uranium and fissionable materials; that scientific measures should be agreed upon to ensure that these stocks could be made immune to surprise seizure; that the agency should arrange for their allocation to peaceful purposes; that there should be measures to encourage investigation into the most effective peace-time uses; and that there should also be investigations to achieve the diminution of the destructive power of the atomic stock-piles that had been built up.

Possibly we may be made acquainted at the Assembly meeting with the Russian reasons for not seeking to forward the idea. On the face of it her attitude can only be regretted.

How not to discuss

IT is our hope that readers of Peace News are often able to make use of the material provided in its pages to help them to raise issues of pacifist policy in the correspondence columns of other journals. The letter from Mr. Hoskin on page five furnishes an outstanding example of how not to do it.

We do not propose here to discuss the contentions of our correspondent. It will be observed that he disagrees with the statement sent by Premysl Pitter to the Paris Conference of the War Resisters' International, and holds that we should also disagree with it; and this seems to him to be a conclusive reason why it should be kept out of the paper.

Now there is a great deal in Premysl Pitter's statement with which we disagree, but that did not seem to us to be a reason why it should be excluded from our columns. Indeed in the circumstances in which the statement was written, and having in mind the other material we were publishing relating to the conference to which it was addressed, we held it to be, on the contrary, a special reason for its publication.

It should be noted, however, that our correspondent has written his letter in the expectation that we will publish it, despite the fact that it is based on large assumptions that, if he is a reader of Peace News, he must know we do not accept without very considerable qualification. He holds that while we should extend tolerance to him, we should deny it to Premysl Pitter. This is an attitude of mind—becoming all too prevalent—that makes reasoned discussion impossible.

Of course, it is possible that Mr. Hoskin, who puts himself on terms with the editor whose space he is requesting by his reference to "your paper," is not a reader of Peace News. This would mean among other things that he would know nothing of Premysl Pitter and would be unaware that pacifists have good reasons to hold his character and record in respect, and are likely to take the view that he has earned the right to be heard by his fellow-pacifists.

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

ceivably contribute to international understanding.

When it comes to the more basic issue of "Christian conscience and war," Evanston's main contribution consisted perhaps in what it did not say or do. For example:

1. It did not try to justify the Korean war as a "police action," or an encouraging instance of successful "collective security."

2. While it did not unequivocally call on the Church to break with H-bomb war, neither did it attempt to justify the H-bomb as a "deterrent" or its use "in retaliation." Those who still wish to do that will not find proof texts in Evanston statements.

3. The whole concept of "collective security" by military means was decidedly played down.

Support for COs

On the positive side, the Central Committee was praised for its study of the rights of conscientious objection and all churches urged to work for the establishment of these rights in their respective countries. "Mass destruction of civilian populations," by whatever means, was unconditionally condemned. Christians were enjoined to "expose the deceit" that "lofty objectives so often invented to justify war" meant that its violence and destruction were not "inherently evil."

If Evanston had been prepared to draw the logical inference from such statements as these, the Assembly would have had to join Martin Niemöller in the conclusion which he announced in a powerful address to 250 people, including many delegates, in the meeting already referred to.

* Continued on page five

CANON COLLINS ON HIS S. AFRICAN VISIT

THE recent visit of Canon L. John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral to South Africa gave rise to correspondence in *The Times*, several writers criticising Canon Collins for his forthrightly expressed views on what he saw in South Africa.

In a recent letter Canon Collins replies to this criticism. After expressing his gratitude to Mr. Shave the Durban businessman who invited him, Canon Collins makes the following points:

(a) Throughout my stay in South Africa I tried to keep an open mind. But I was not willing to throw away my "prejudice" that every racial intolerance and every discrimination on grounds of colour are an offence to the Christian way of life. And the facts are even worse than I had previously supposed.

(b) It is true that something quite substantial is being done to tackle the vast social problem created by the white man's economy and his need for non-European labour—I saw evidence of this in well-equipped hospitals, new schools, new housing, etc.



It is also true that most Europeans treat their African servants decently—though I very much doubt whether the majority of African servants are paid at the rate of £8 a month.

The fact remains that the vast majority of non-Europeans endure terrible living conditions: and the master-servant relationship is one of the evil manifestations of the present situation.

(c) But my critics miss the real emphasis of my comments.

In spite of what "good is being done for the African," the shocking contrast between the conditions of life for a white man and those for a non-European is a scandal: but the greater scandal is the insistence of white South Africans, high-minded as well as indifferent, English-speaking as well as Afrikaans-speaking, upon a way of life whereby the African is treated more as a beast of burden than as a human being—kindly treatment, of course, on the part of animal lovers.

(d) In view of the history of South Africa a solution of the racial problem out there is not a simple matter.

I understand why it is that almost every European suffers from the "disease" of racism; and I sympathise with men who are afraid. But to understand and to sympathise are not necessarily to agree.

(e) A ferment of controversy goes on under the surface in South Africa: consciences are stirring.

Criticism from outside can stimulate this useful process. And such criticism gives renewed hope to that small but growing number of liberal-minded persons who, against tremendous odds, strive valiantly for racial equality—these persons need our support and they merit our unstinted praise.

*

(f) The United Party on racial issues is basically no more worthy of the support of non-racialists than is the Nationalist Party—they both stand for white political domination.

(g) It is contended that my visit "chafed the bonds of the British Commonwealth."

But a failure on our part to criticize racialism in South Africa may lose us the friendship of India, Pakistan, and of all those Colonial peoples who look to Britain to implement its support of the Charter of Human Rights.

(h) My critics would seem to ignore what the Africans themselves are thinking and doing. The Africans will, I believe, no longer tolerate benevolent paternalism, let alone blatant domination.

Their patience is magnificent: but he would be unwise who should dare to presume upon this African virtue any further.

(i) There is a large minority of Africans who on any showing must be regarded as responsible civilized persons. This minority, as well as vast numbers of as yet "uncivilized" Africans, looks to the African National Congress as its political instrument.

They delude themselves who think the Congress represents only a handful of ambitious extremists.

(j) Congress is committed to a policy of non-violent resistance: I was deeply impressed by the wisdom and moderation of its leaders—the majority of them Christians.

But time is not on the side of those who hesitate: the situation deteriorates daily, and soon the leadership may be driven into the hands of less wise and less moderate men.

(k) The Church has today a unique opportunity to bring about a solution of the racial tensions in South Africa. But unfortunately she does not practise what she preaches.

If she is to regain the confidence of Africans she must turn theoretical attitudes and the passing of resolutions into practical support for the oppressed in their non-violent resistance to unjust racial legislation and practice.

She must stand uncompromisingly for equality of status and equality of opportunity for all South Africans regardless of race or colour.

Those who would silence criticism of South African racialism do a grave disservice, I believe, to the cause of Christ in the world.

GERMAN PACIFISTS ELECTED

THREE of the four newly-elected members of the executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (elected at the Congress of the Party at Berlin, July 1954), were outspoken opponents of German rearmament. One of them was Dr. Fritz Wenzel, a leading member of the German section of the War Resisters' International.

Young Russians and conscientious objection

MEMBERS of the Pacifist Youth Action Group met the Russians at the International Centre recently. In addition there were three Americans present, and one Japanese who spoke fluent Russian.

"We discussed the question of conscientious objectors in Russia," Irene Jacoby, a PYAG member, told Peace News afterwards.

"They said there were no COs in Russia because there was no necessity for them. An article in their constitution gave freedom of conscience to all, no one can be persecuted for religious or other ideas.

"The Russians were against war, and believed that all international questions could be settled by negotiation. Their whole ideology was peace but if they were invaded from outside they would fight: no Russian would watch Russia being invaded.

"They were very proud of Russian culture, and Russian industrial development. They were struck by the fact that the British knew far less about Russian literature and Russian life than did they about British literature and life. It was quite untrue to say that Russia saw Britain through the eyes of Charles Dickens; on the contrary they read modern British books."

"MASS UNHAPPINESS" —a new problem for the scientists

"CAFARD" is an ugly word to describe an ugly thing—mass unhappiness.

"It is generally accepted" said a psychiatrist, Dr. T. M. Ling, speaking at a summer school on Town and Country Planning last week, that there is a great deal of it in our society.

"Despite all that is being done by the Welfare State it is almost certain that this mass unhappiness, or 'cafard,' which is a better word, is increasing," he said.

An indisputable yardstick of that unhappiness was the suicide rate. In London the rate varied. It was highest in places like Kensington, Westminster and Marylebone, but significantly lower in poorer areas. The difference was very great.

The suicide rate, mental illness, nervous breakdowns and matrimonial troubles were all facets of "the same disintegration and de-socialisation of human beings" said Dr. Ling. Loneliness abounded, in city flats and even in the newer housing estates. In the newly-developed towns there was a "I keep to myself" attitude.

"At first sight," he said, "it looks as if mankind at large were trying to shelter behind the net curtains, the aspidistra and the plaster Alsatian dog, with which so many 'respectable' people block their windows, in a vain endeavour to deal with the pain and embarrassment of social contacts by blocking them off."

There were two reasons, said Dr. Ling, why this mass unhappiness had come about.

1. A decline in religious values. The community today was more likely to be dominated architecturally and emotionally by the chimney of the local power station or factory than by the tower of the parish church.

2. A belief in the efficacy of the State. Health, friendship and a zest for life were increasingly demanded from the community at large as a right, and the responsibility was being placed on the shoulders of government.

Town planners could help to cope with the problem by designing with a view to promoting neighbourliness. Open front gardens and "friendly" roads avoiding long rows of semi-detached houses would assist.

Democratic Costa Rica

JOHN M. SWOMLEY Jnr., Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, recently returned from a tour of Guatemala and other Central American States. Included in his report was a note on Costa Rica:

"In Costa Rica I had dinner with President and Senora Jose Figueres while forces from across the Nicaraguan border were creating a disturbance on Costa Rican territory. They are a most democratic and progressive family, and Costa Rica is easily the most democratic and progressive of the Central American countries. Technically there is no Costa Rican army, but the small Civil Guard has and uses Army-type weapons instead of only the small arms of a police force.

Nicaraguan tanks and armored cars sent to the Costa Rican border to defend Nicaragua's territory after Costa Rica had repelled the invaders, were apparently discouraged by the United States from any attack on Costa Rica since assurances were given that these were only 'routine manouvers'."

Moravians urge racial equality in Colonies

THE recent Synod of the Moravian Church in Great Britain passed a resolution urging the British Government to persuade the South African Government to abandon its policy of racial discrimination, "in the belief that such discrimination is not only contrary to the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ but is also fraught with great danger to future relations on a world-wide scale between white and coloured races."

The resolution also urged the British Government to carry out a "positive policy of complete racial equality in all her colonies and trust territories" and to use "every means of modern publicity to inform the world that this is being done." The motion was moved by the Rev. G. Ronald Lloyd, of Westwood, Oldham.

THE ARTIST IN MODERN SOCIETY

THE discussions and achievements of the International Conference of Artists, held in Venice in September 1952 and attended by delegates of 44 countries, are presented in a book entitled "The Artist in Modern Society" which Unesco has just published. This work contains general statements prepared for the Conference by a poet, Giuseppe Ungaretti; a playwright, Marc Connolly; a film director, Alessandro Blasetti; a musician, Arthur Honegger; a writer, Taha Hussein; an architect, Lucio Costa; a sculptor, Henry Moore; and two painters, Jacques Villon and Georges Rouault. These names suffice to indicate the value of a publication which offers a thorough examination of the great problems of the freedom of the artist and of the role of the arts in the modern world.

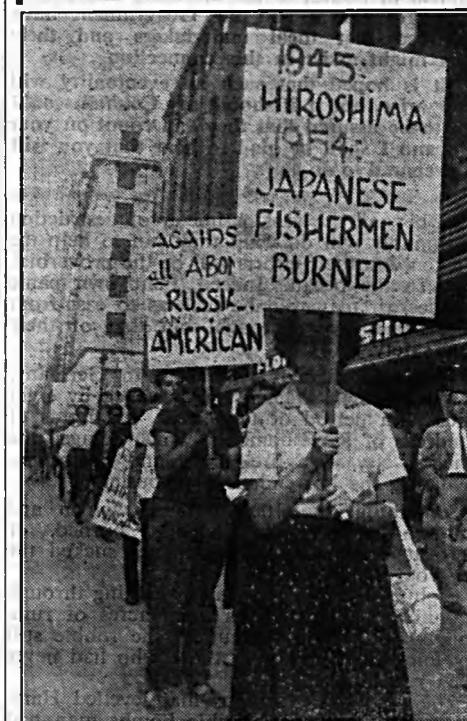
Unique meeting

A full report is given of the Venice Conference which covered an exceptionally wide field, owing to the great variety of regions, cultures, trends and disciplines that contributed to it. In addition to the 200 delegates representing 44 countries and 11 international associations of artists, more than 150 artists were present as observers.

The Unesco book also includes the final reports on the Conference; the general report by Thornton Wilder, the report of the resolutions committee by N. C. Mehta; and the closing address by Ildebrando Pizzetti, President of the Conference. These analyse the results and significance of an international meeting unique in the history of the arts, which is sure to have great influence on the co-operation of artists and writers with Unesco, and which—in the words of Wilder—took the form of "a spiritual progress."

Published by Unesco, in French and English. Price: \$1.00; 5s.; 250 frs.

PEACE PARADE



On the ninth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, pacifists in New York conducted a poster walk at the Japanese Consulate expressing repentance for the recent US hydrogen bomb tests in which Japanese fishermen were injured by radioactivity. During the demonstration a delegation representing the sponsoring groups—War Resisters League, Peacemakers and Catholic Worker—presented at the Consulate a message for delivery to the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which said: "We want to tell you that there are Americans who are deeply filled with shame and horror by these acts."

HOLLAND TO HOLD UNESCO WEEKS

THE small town of Zaandam just north of Amsterdam in Holland is to hold two weeks of Unesco activities at the beginning of September. The Netherlands Unesco Centrum and the local United Nations Association are co-operating with a Zaandam organisation in this initiative, which will be called UNESCO-ZAANDAM-LIBYA. The association with Libya is derived from the fact that a Zaandam citizen, Mr. Adrian Pelt was the United Nations Commissioner there until the country became independent on January 1, 1952.

The official opening of the activities will be held on August 31. There will be two Unesco exhibitions: one called "Education and Peace" will be shown in the schools, and the other, "Man against the Desert," will be displayed in the town's shop windows. A further exhibit will show drawings from a girl's school in Derna, Libya. The Unesco film "World without End" will be shown at an open-air meeting.

A campaign will be run throughout the two weeks to sell Unesco gift coupons—a form of international cheque or money order, which can be sent as gifts to educational and cultural institutions in other countries. Zaandam's gift coupons will be sent to the Men's Teacher Training Centre set up in Tripolitania, Libya, in 1952, to train teachers for the country's primary schools.

September 10, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

Head, hand, and heart

LAST week I spent a day at a work camp. We talked about the communication of ideas. Peace ideas.

Peace News and the work camp movement are both in the peace communication business. The methods they use are different, but complementary. To read and to discuss develops understanding on the plane of intelligence. To work together with others in fellowship for a good end provides understanding on the level of the heart.

Head, hand and heart for peace and a better world; that is the desirable unity of service. For readers of Peace News I would recommend the work camps. For work campers, I would suggest a subscription to the paper which should be theirs as much as ours.

It would be magnificent if next year a copy of Peace News could go out regularly to every work camp in Britain (and elsewhere?).

Here is a specific job for some friends to undertake. Who would like to underwrite the supply of PN to a camp for the season?

TOM WARDLE.

Contributions since August 27: £11 16s. 4d. Total since January 1 1954: £1,128 17s. 11d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

"Bullets will not kill Communism"

—Chu Lieu Chinese

FROM the monthly of the Chu Lieu Society, Chinese Third Camp organisation in Hong Kong, comes this piece of advice on how to deal with Communism:

Mr. Charles Wilson, Secretary of Defence of the United States, warned against a professional anti-Communist philosophy after his fact-finding trip to the Far East, saying that the threat of Communism cannot be eliminated by attempting another great war. He said: "We cannot knock out false ideas with bullets, we must counter and destroy them with the truth, with superior ideas and a sound philosophy."

Quite true. But we are not sure that those who pin their faith upon the great war would like to hear it. Those ladies and gentlemen may well understand Mr. Wilson's statement but not be able to act upon it since they have been too materialistic themselves in believing that Communists owed their victory to materialism, which to those ladies and gentlemen is but something the same as bullets.

The spiritual war

However, the Communist philosophy is one hundred per cent. idealism, while that of those anti-Communist people is like Yang-King-Pang (Shanghai-style) materialism. The weapons which Communists have used successfully to fight the capitalist materialists are philosophy, literature, music and the like. When they have won the spiritual war, they shall win all. Can you, dear Sirs, fight Communists with the dollar, the nude movie, the Miss Universe, and so on?

We must bear in mind that a sound philosophy which is expected to overcome Communist ideas is not simply a matter of writing books only. It is to be found in a sound life, a spiritual dynamic, a progressive aspiration. The Communist challenge is strong in this line despite the terrible mistakes it has made, and despite the fact that it has reached a low ebb.

Any way those ladies and gentlemen had better be wise enough to bestir themselves in the spiritual war against Communism.

Portrait of a Third Camper

THE American news magazine, Time, recently devoted its lead story to a profile of Prime Minister U Nu, of Burma. In a four-page potted history of the man and his nation, Time said:

U Nu, son of a merchant who sold religious articles, brought sacred Buddhist relics back from Ceylon and sent them on a twenty-city tour of Burma; he built a great Peace Pagoda seven miles from Rangoon, then spent \$6,000,000 on two dozen more buildings, including a man-made cave, to accommodate the Sixth World Buddhist Council. He ordered department heads to dismiss civil servants thirty minutes ahead of time if they wished to meditate; he put his own Cabinet to work beside the labourers on pagoda construction. He remitted prison sentences of convicts who passed exams in Buddhism.

U Nu gets up each morning at 4 o'clock to meditate for a couple of hours. For a while he became a total vegetarian, but the effect of his denials grew so marked—his eyes almost failed him last year—that doctors persuaded him to 'take a little fish.'

In 1950, then 43 and the father of five children, U Nu chose to enter the State of Bramachariya, or sexual abstinence, which is considered 'extraordinary' in that Buddhism does not require such abstinence of its lay supporters. One day in Parliament, U Nu introduced a Bill for the promotion of religion. Unanimously the MPs passed it; in unison they intoned, 'Thadu, Thadu, Thadu,' which amounted to a vote of confidence in U Nu's religious leadership. Thadu is the Burmese word for both 'Amen' and 'Well done.'

... The State Department would like to wheedle U Nu into an anti-Communist bloc—but U Nu shies instinctively from blocs. Like India's Nehru, he believes that blocs encourage war. Last year U Nu cut off US Point Four aid in token of his 'non-alignment.'

CIVIL DEFENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

By Alfred Hassler

The USA seeks to confront the problem of Civil Defence in the face of the H-bomb in different terms from those in which it is discussed in Britain. Indeed in his declaration that "the cities are finished" in the event of H-bomb attack, Mr. Val Petersen, the US Civil Defence Administrator, has pronounced his view that in the event of war Britain is doomed. That the problem is just as distant from solution in the USA, however, and that the assurances produced are just as unconvincing as those given by Sir David Maxwell Fyfe to Coventry, is shown in the following article which we reproduce from Fellowship, the journal of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

A FEW WEEKS after the news of the H-bomb blasts had been released, the City Council of Coventry, England, announced its refusal to participate in an impending civil defence exercise. Subsequent prodding by the Home Secretary only moved the Council to vote to suspend all civil defence recruiting and publicity.

The city whose destruction by Nazi bombs heralded the beginning of saturation bombing in World War II pointed out politely that it was a little silly to prepare to defend yourself against a bomb against which there was admittedly no defence.

No such candid facing of the facts of the H-bomb age has been reported from CD authorities in this country, unless the spontaneous outburst of New York City's CD Director O'Brien, be counted as such. Mr. O'Brien confronted by the first announcement of the stupendous force of the multi-megaton super-bombs, was unexpectedly frank to reporters who questioned him.

"It is a fantastic thought," said Director O'Brien, "But God knows, with the latest news from Washington, evacuation is the only solution... If this latest bomb is what they say of it, our system of going to shelters is ancient history."

The almost prayerful reference to the deity in understandable in the light of two other facts also acknowledged by Director O'Brien's office:

1. The Air Force has indicated that the maximum warning time of an attack that may be expected is one hour;

2. The very lowest estimate of the time required to evacuate the "target area" of New York City, working day and night with top precision and organisation, is three days.

This candid appraisal of the realities of life was countered quickly by the more conventional reassurances expected of public officials trying to hide the fact that they are as bewildered as everyone else.

The state CD directors of New York and New Jersey issued a joint statement the next

Progress in Civil Defence AMERICA

Highway signs instructing the public not to use major roads in event of enemy air attack will be taken down soon. They are outmoded by the hydrogen bomb.

Instead of banning the public from the highways, the Civil Defence Administration's new policy is to allow urban populations to use the roads to flee.

Civil defence officials are now preparing recommendations to state authorities telling them all highways must be kept open to permit a mass exodus from cities, and ordering them to take the old signs down. The signs were posted throughout the nation at a cost of thousands of dollars.

The policy of keeping the public off the highways was decided on when Civil Defence officials were thinking in terms of having all noncombatants run for shelters or cellars. The highways were to be kept open so aid could be rushed to the bombed cities.

But with the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs capable of wiping out the heart of a city, the official policy now is for the populace to take to the hills.

—New York Times, June 28, 1954.

day in which they declared that the H-bomb had not made any drastic changes in the civil defence problem. It had simply made the problem "larger," they opined, and added that the techniques worked out in the past were still valid.

Bomb insurance

Another civil defence representative piled Pelion on Ossa when, after a lurid broadcast description of the power of the new bomb, he responded to the interviewer's request for "positive" suggestions with a glowing account of a family-type shelter that might be built for only 40 dollars.

Without even a side glance at the earth-crushing force that had vaporized a twelve-mile island and left a hole 175 feet deep and a mile across, he suggested that the expense of installing such a shelter would be a form of insurance that should appeal to insurance-minded Americans.

"And the nice part of it is," he concurred, "that the money you spend on such a shelter can be deducted from your income tax."

Finally on June 14, New York City, its director's fears quieted—or at least kept respectfully to himself—joined the rest of the country in the first nationwide air-raid test.

Sirens blew and citizens stopped what they were doing and walked solemnly to the shelters from which they could confidently expect all the oxygen to be sucked by the H-bomb's

gigantic fireball even if they were not completely pulverized by the initial blast.

No defence...

The fact is that the townsmen of Coventry, who know what an air-raid is, and New York's Director O'Brien, who can add two and two and get the right answer, have put the finger on civil defence accurately and effectively. There simply is no defence against H-bomb attacks, and it is unlikely that there can ever be any kind of effective prior organisation of rescue operations to follow the attack.

When the attacking bombers have flown away, or the guided missiles have all delivered their fatal loads, the people still standing up-

Progress in Civil Defence

BRITAIN

Under the heading "Civil Defence—Emergency Mortuary Arrangements" the Town Clerk of South Molton is sending out the following letter to local undertakers:

"My Council are being pressed by the Government Department concerned to complete their preliminary arrangements, as required by the Civil Defence Act, 1948, to be put into effect in the event of an emergency arising, and these include arrangements for the removal of bodies to the mortuary and preparation for burial and the Government have suggested that local undertakers and their staffs might assist in this connection.

"It is hoped that such an eventuality will never arise, but if it should my Council would like to be assured that they can count on your help and I shall be glad to hear that you will be prepared to do so."

right beyond the vast perimeter of destruction presumably will do what they can to help the stricken, but their efforts will be the proverbial drop in the ocean. Indeed, their own panic and despair may well be such as to cast from most minds every thought but that of their own safety.

When the city of Hamburg, in Germany, was bombed in 1943, it was besieged by eight raids in a period of ten nights, by flights of hundreds of RAF bombers, which deluged the stricken city with fire-bombs and explosives, including the horrendous blockbuster.

Something like 100,000 men, women and children were blown to bits, burned, or suffocated as the towering flames sucked the air from the streets and shelters.

Eight years later the visitor walking through Hamburg still saw acres upon acres of ruin, and could be told that under the rubble still lay uncounted bodies of those who had never been recovered.

The blockbuster bombs that levelled Hamburg were the most terrible bombs man had devised. In those few nights, by a Herculean effort, those clouds of bombers dropped enough of them on Hamburg to add up to 10,000 tons of TNT.

Maintaining the same pace night after night, it would have taken those hundreds of bombers 40 years to deliver the equivalent of the single H-bomb exploded in the Marshall Islands in 1952! To match the 40-megaton bomb now reported as completely feasible the period would have to be lengthened to approximately 120 years!

This is only another way of saying that one plane with one bomb can now deliver more explosive force than all the bombs dropped by both sides during the whole of World War II.

There are no words in the English language adequate to describe the shambles remaining after such an attack.

Top physicist Linus Pauling, of the California Institute of Technology, points out that one H-bomb dropped on New York City would kill five million people; on Los Angeles, two million.

And this does not begin to consider the "fall-out" of highly dangerous radioactive dust, which may spread fifty or a hundred miles or more from the centre of the explosion and incapacitate or kill most of the population of that area.

Turn to evacuation

As the reports rolled in during early April, the weekly magazines had a field day speculating on what the H-bomb meant in terms of American cities.

Among them was Life, which, acknowledging that the H-bomb had "obliterated all previous plans for US civil defence," and that "underground shelters would be crushed over a wide area," attempted to explore with neat charts and figures the possibilities of evacuating certain key cities when the news of an impending attack came.

Life attempted to be restrained but what its report demonstrated was that evacuation is as hopeless a prospect as shelters. It requires no complicated reasoning to demonstrate this, particularly if the reader keeps in mind the one hour that is the maximum warning the Air Force anticipates.

Life, quoting the US Civil Defence Administration, had diagrammed its cities with neat

Work Camps and the Third Way

By Ralph Hegnauer

This article is an abridged version of the address given to the recent conference of the War Resisters' International by the Secretary of the Service Civil International.

IN the measure that individuals succeed in the midst of society in training themselves to adopt a more balanced view of things, a more harmonious conduct, in that measure will society develop in the direction of our vision.

There are as many ways of working for peace as there are men and women. Voluntary work-camps may be one of the means.

The basic idea is simple. People of both sexes, young and old, of whatever race, religious belief, or political views, without respect of nationality, profession or aptitudes, are called on to help their suffering fellow-creatures.

The volunteers receive simple food and accommodation and are insured against accidents during work. The work is usually simple; clearing and repair work after natural disasters, making roads and simple water supplies; helping to build houses in community settlements, or schools and hospitals, improvements to homes and youth hostels; harvesting, forestry work, and the like; in certain circumstances, too, so-called social work—that is assistance work.

Today there are more than fifty associations which organise work camps on these lines. What they have in common is that they use a definite method to carry out community work of a definite kind.

These services of which we speak give material help, they achieve a task. But at the same time the act of helping leads to an experience, perhaps a decisive experience.

It is important not only that the work should be necessary useful and urgent, but that it should be given from deep motives.

Some volunteers in giving their services are motivated by their will to peace, particularly conscientious objectors to military service, and people who have already struggled with the problem of peace and war. But most volunteers come from quite different motives.

One wants a cheap holiday, another wants to learn languages or to be in interesting company. Other motives may be a longing for adventure, pleasure in creative activity, the desire to get to know other people and different conditions, and above all, the desire to help.

We may ask ourselves the question: What have these selfish motives to do with the will to peace? How shall we bring the two together? This is the secret of a good international voluntary work-camp, that makes it more than just a method.

To a greater or lesser extent there exists in every volunteer the desire to help. This is in itself a great deal. It is a good beginning.

Then there is the pleasure of the unknown. This is a great incitement, once the courage for the unknown has overcome the doubts of everyday inertia in us.

Comradeship is an important constituent of our genuine social need. Its fulfilment is a valuable help. It must not however be exaggerated or take the place of deeper feelings of community, otherwise it degenerates into moroseness.

The conscious motive of my first service was without doubt the love of adventure. Volunteers with certain qualifications were called for to take part in work for the civil population during the Spanish civil war. It was at the time of the struggle in my own mind as to the ethical justification for taking the lives of other human beings.

The new kind of service in which I was able to take part brought me a sort of revelation in the form of a possible solution of my troubles of conscience. This was the constructive, creative service to which I could say "yes." Thus the way was clear to a later radical "no" to military and war service.

Still much time was needed until this decision was matured, but the decisive step was taken.

The motives for participating in an international voluntary work-camp are very numerous. But whatever may be the source of such feelings, they will be put to the service of a deed of communal good, and thereby, it seems to me, they will help to bring about peace.

For it is just that experience of an action for the common good which is a decisive means of sharing in the fate of others and thus learning to understand and love them.

The labour service is no conscious effort to transform the social order by means of certain economic and political changes. We know from the example of totalitarian states where it may lead if the medium of labour service is placed in the service of a state and that a pronounced power state.

When we speak of the transformation of social conditions in the sense of the distribution of property or a prevention of abuse of possessions, I think we must realise all the same that voluntary unpaid work for those in distress among us, and the support of such work is one of the noblest and most compelling means to such a transformation.

In this sense the voluntary worker is fulfilling our vision. But at this point we must make certain modifications.

Although for a certain period of time the volunteer is fulfilling this vision—as a way of

thinking and a laudable goal, he might even refute it if he were to know it or if we expect any confession from him.

Nor does he in any way regard his service as a struggle for freedom, social justice and human dignity. But we may find that his work, his actions, and demeanour are working to just this end. Why? Because they arise from a moral law.

When our volunteers are working in a colonised country, nearly all become aware of indignation against injustice. Identification with the distressed awakens the voice of conscience.

□ □

One important aspect of our vision is the realisation that unrestricted expression of self-interest, striving for power, and greed for money and possessions, must be overcome foremost in ourselves.

A service which demands people to exercise self-discipline and self-control, while at the same time acting usefully, constructively and creating higher values, seems to correspond most closely to our notion of a better society.

To take part in an international voluntary work-camp is basically a giving of oneself. The one who comes to us with deliberate and mercenary motives, arising from a misunderstanding, soon gives up.

He will soon realise that the returns he has imagined for himself, will be few. He will either change his views or go away.

In other words: the means of voluntary unpaid labour for a distressed village or city community or for any group, could hardly be



Work-campers clearing up debris after an avalanche in Switzerland.

misused for dishonest ends. And conversely, the ends compel the participants to use honest means, since any misuse would become obvious to a normal person quickly.

In voluntary work-camps, volunteers and beneficiaries are both at the same time receivers and givers. For a moral law decrees that one who gives, and with his whole personality, "gives himself" becomes himself a receiver of gifts—just because he neither wants nor seeks this.

Regarded superficially there is nothing in the method of the voluntary work-camps which has anything in common with our insistence on radical pacifism. Every volunteer who is fully willing to work really hard and to live in the community in the right spirit is welcome as a complete equal.

This includes those people who still believe that order between nations and peoples can be maintained in the long run only through threats and exercise of violence, whose political views are formed chiefly by a faith in armaments and in waging war.

But do not those who still believe in violence do so mainly out of their own helplessness and lack of imagination? But do not these volunteers prove, even if they themselves are not aware of it, that there are other methods of achieving international life?

Of course, work-camps do not provide solutions for world problems in the political and economic fields, but they can help towards creating an atmosphere conducive to solving them.

International voluntary work-camps are not a conscious work on the construction of a "third way." But they consist of certain elements which enable participants to experience the vision of a better world. In an atmosphere congenial to this vision the volunteers prove to themselves and the others that in spite of their human weaknesses that are capable of unselfish service from their own convictions.

Participation in such a service can become an experience which brings us a little nearer to the unity of life.

● Opposite page

U.S. CIVIL DEFENCE

● From page four

concentric circles, working out from the "downtown" business area.

Within the first circle, with a radius of more than a mile in a city like Washington, "traffic would be halted and people would walk outward to a leading perimeter, board assembled busses and streetcars to be carried out of town."

In the outer circles, "prearranged carpools" would presumably have moved residential and suburban populations out, clearing the way for the oncoming streetcars and buses.

It is whistling in the dark, as Life recognises. In its prototype city of Washington, for example, two-thirds of the daytime population of a million are within the inner perimeter. Even with a two-hour warning, however, all the available streetcars and buses could handle only about 115,000.

What would the other half-million do?
Wait for the cars and buses to return, while the shadows of the planes darkened the earth? Walk towards safety, trying to outdistance the racing jets?

Panic inevitable

"Traffic would be halted," says the CDA, but would it? Would a man with a car at the curb obey an order to leave it there and take his one-in-five chance of getting on a streetcar or bus a mile away? Would anyone remain to give the order, or would the human beings who wear the uniforms of police and CD wardens also be fleeing the doomed city?

What of the men and women on whose work the whole system of transportation and communication depends: the bus and car operators, the workers in power plants, telephone operators and technicians? Would they remain at their posts, or would they, too, rush out in a frantic effort to escape?

"Far more serious than (the problems of transportation)," wrote Life, "is the prospect of panic... Men's natural desire to reach their families, or to pile them into cars and go, would have to be curbed or traffic would be snarled hopelessly."

Anyone who has seen the clogged streets of any large city at five o'clock of a business day, or at the beginning of a holiday week-end, will appreciate the degree of understatement that this assertion involves.

And even these reservations beg the question of where the evacuees would go. "Total destruction" from a 15-megaton bomb would extend perhaps four miles from the centre of the blast (and who knows where that would be?) and near total destruction almost twelve miles.

Forty miles out would be the radius of the area of "serious blast damage," with "mass casualties from radioactivity" extending for ninety miles and dangerous radioactivity for 175. For safety, declares one published report, this whole vast area—350 miles in diameter, would probably have to be evacuated!

To state the dimensions of the catastrophe is to reveal the futility of civil defence, and it should be remembered that the catastrophe has been stated only in terms of the dropping of a single H-bomb on a single city, an unlikely way to wage a war.

For this kind of ultimate, indiscriminate destruction, no effective preparations can be made. Civil defence in the future more clearly than ever will serve principally the function of which pacifists have long suspected it: conditioning the mind of the public to the expectation of war, and, by providing a superficial reassurance that something is being done, preventing the widespread realisation that the elimination of war itself is the only method of defence worth trying.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

DIARY

Saturday, September 11

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open air mtg. Liverpool Peace Board.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 3 p.m.; Poster Procession, "Renounce the H-bomb," from Little Lane, Stafford St. to Market place for public mtgs. Speakers: Councillor Mrs. V. Fletcher, Rev. Norman Parsons, Councillor Lewis Burgess, MA (prosp. Lib. candidate, Wolverhampton, S.W.). Wolverhampton Peace Council.

Sunday, September 12

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Park. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 52 St. Martins Lane. Conf. on Conscientious Objection. See classified advert. Friends Peace Committee.

Monday, September 13

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m.; Queen's Rd. Baptist Ch. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "The Challenge of the H-bomb." FOR.

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m.; 24a Breakspears Rd., Brockley, S.E.4. (buses 21, 36, 69 and 182 to Technical College, Lewisham Way.) PPU.

Tuesday, September 14

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Special meeting to discuss 1955 AGM whereabouts. PPU Manchester Central Gp.

Wednesday, September 15

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Broadwell. Will Parkin. Policy study. PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR. PPU.

Thursday, September 16

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Archie Donald, "War or Slump for America?" PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations. PPU.

LETTERS

Formosa

BEFORE its liberation Formosa was governed by Japan for fifty years; before that it was effectively occupied by the Chinese for about four centuries; before that it belonged to the Aborigines, who are now less than one-twentieth of the population. In 1943 the Allies gave a pledge that Formosa would revert to Chinese sovereignty.

Any proposal to admit Communist China to UNO and so recognise her sovereignty and at the same time to stultify her sovereignty in Formosa by holding a plebiscite would make no sense.

D. G. WILLIAMS.

German rearmament

MY old friend Frank Hancock finds my arguments "clever." This surprises me, as my chief hesitation in stating them was that they seemed so painfully obvious. The main point, however, is whether they are *right*. Frank Hancock thinks they may be, but that "we need not stress the need for being logical."

Fortunately Frank himself was logical in 1916. As a pacifist he stressed the need for being logical by refusing to fight. The argument of the other side was that which he is using now—the danger of German militarism. In two world wars pacifists here have opposed to that "simple case" (Frank's own words) the logical view that *all* militarism is evil.

I was at pains to point out, at the risk of talking pacifist platitudes, that I was *not* supporting German rearmament. What I object to is *imposed discrimination* against Germany. Even non-pacifists might object to this on democratic or realistic grounds, because it is unprincipled and because it is likely to further the growth of German chauvinism and the very developments which Frank Hancock fears.

The pacifists have no option. Their way to peace cannot be by *force majeure*, but only by practising and fostering goodwill—another cliché which I am ashamed to trot out, because it is so obvious.

If there is anything "clever" in any of these laboured truisms I will do something much more clever. I will publicly eat my non-existent hat.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

Unilateral disarmament

EMRYS HUGHES does well to expose the motives behind the latest Admiralty scare story about the Soviet Navy. But now Mr. Attlee, from Hong Kong, has added his contribution by telling a press conference he has sent a message asking Premier Malenkov to disarm unilaterally.

In face of this campaign, some facts are significant. In the past two years the USSR has been reducing its arms budget. It has been cutting arms expenditure, and thus setting an example to the West. Joint discussions with the Soviet Government on an all-round one-third cut, as suggested again and again by the Russians, could certainly achieve results.

Regarding the post-war period as a whole, it is worth noting that in 1945 the USSR cut its defence expenditure by one third, the USA by one half. Thus, the first post-war year saw a larger American cut than Russian. But while, in the following years, the Russians continued cutting their arms budget, the Americans started increasing theirs again. After the USA had for two years been increasing its arms budget, the USSR then started to do likewise. Now, for two years the USSR has been cutting its arms budget, why does not Mr. Attlee ask the Americans to do likewise?

PAT SLOAN.

British Soviet Friendship Society,
36 Spencer St., E.C.1.

Saturday, September 17

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shepard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacific Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

Saturday, September 18

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Euston Rd. George Gregory, "We demand real Civil defence" Chair. George Plumbe. Pacifist Civil Defence Committee.

Saturday-Sunday, September 18-19

ST ALBANS: Diocesan Ho., Verulam Rd. John Ferguson, MA, BD. Week-end Youth conf. Details from Max Parker, Drayson, Church Ave., Pinner. FOR.

Sunday, September 19

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m. Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. St.) Rev. Will Hayes, "Looking for the Lord." Religion Commission. PPU.

Monday, September 20

OLDHAM: 8 p.m.; Methodist Schoolroom, Henshaw St. (bus stop, Market Pl.) Rev. Clifford Macquire, "My Visit to Russia." FOR.

Tuesday, September 21

STOKE ON TRENT: 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Centre, Gitanas Street, Hanley. Public mtg. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Christ and War." FOR.

Wednesday, September 22

LONDON, S.E.9: 7.30 p.m.; 506 Foothill Rd. (County gate stop on No. 21 bus route) Eltham group A.G.M.; consideration of future policy. PPU.

Agonising reappraisal

DURING his recent visit to Brussels, when M. Mendes-France had talks with the heads of other governments, he told them that if any undue pressure were exerted on France, and if France were driven to extremes, a French government might appear with a mandate from the French nation to make an immediate approach to Russia, in order to revive the old Franco-Russian alliance.

Here it is useful to say that the real historic and geographical ally of France is Russia. Russia is the neighbour of Germany on the other side, on the Eastern side. When Czar Alexander III visited Paris in 1894, he and his magnificent guards officers received a frenzied welcome from the French population. The Franco-Russian alliance was born. And it saved France in 1914.

So Mr. Dulles and his compatriots will have to think twice before they decide to pick the Germans as their future brothers-in-arms. The "agonising re-appraisal" may in fact be so great, that Uncle Sam may decide to give up present military plans in Europe, and withdraw to "splendid isolation." Perhaps this "agonizing re-appraisal" may be a splendid idea, and save the peace for Europe anyway.

AUGUSTUS VINCENT.

45 Wilton Place,
Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

Premysl Pitter

YOUR paper does no service to the cause of peace by printing such rabid rubbish as that written by Premysl Pitter. I challenge him to state precisely what treaties "the Communist rulers never kept." Indeed the boot is on the other foot as it is well known that it is the West that has not kept to the agreements made at Potsdam, Yalta, etc.

Mr. Pitter speaks of oppression behind the Iron Curtain. Are we to weep because the capitalist class have been deprived of their power to exploit the people who are now having a rising standard of living forced upon them by the wicked Reds? The "situation" is indeed "desperate." Let us take comfort, however, in Mr. Pitter's demand for "more constructive work that abolishes the cause of war." That threat should shake capitalism to its foundations.

A. HOSKIN.

1 St. James Close,
Heathcote Rd., Epsom.

(We refer to this letter on page 2. Ed.)

Man without a country

THE world problem is fundamentally a human problem. But in striving to find a peaceful solution to the conflict between Great Powers the claims of individuals to be accorded human rights are often neglected. Take the case of Nicolas Levitsky, a stateless person born of a Russian father and American mother on December 9, 1929, at Shanghai. No country seemed willing to receive him.

At last, however, Levitsky was furnished with a passport and visa by the Brazilian Consul at Hong Kong and was flown to Italy in July, 1953, when under the auspices of the International Committee for European Migration (CIME) he was embarked at Genoa on the SS *Bretagne* bound for South America. All seemed well until before he could land at Rio his visa was cancelled by the Brazilian authorities. As a result the shipping company had to keep him on board, and since he had no permission to enter any other country he was compelled to travel backwards and forwards across the Atlantic for months on end. Representations by the International Committee and by the agencies of the French and Italian Governments proved quite unavailing.

When this had gone on for nine months the matter was brought to the attention of the Sec-

□ On back page

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LITERATURE

"THE ADRIALPHI"—1933 to 1948. Complete set, covering the socialist/pacifist period of this well-known literary magazine for sale. Full proceeds to Peace News Fund. What offers? The Treasurer, PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Buxton Rd., London.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Daytime and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone or just drop in to Peace News (St. Amherst Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook, stationers), Finchley Park, N.4.

THIRD CAMP MOVEMENT requires voluntary assistance, part-time, simple office duties. Hampstead, Box No. 581.

September 10, 1954, PEACE NEWS—5

EVANSTON

* From page two

This was unquestionably the most important "extra-curricular" event during the Assembly, and perhaps the adjective is unnecessary. That conclusion, stated by the man who undoubtedly would be on any one's list of the ten most important figures in the Christian world today, was: "I am a pacifist—in principle."

Niemöller reported on a meeting he had some months ago with Germany's three leading nuclear scientists; Hahn, Heisenberg and von Weizsäcker. All agreed that the means to wipe out the race were now available to governments.

Not only Hitler, Niemöller alleged, but any regime at the crucial moment in a war would use such means. "War, therefore, cannot be spoken of any longer as just or unjust, good or bad. It is simply madness. It is unthinkable."

He spoke in moving terms of Gandhi, "this non-Christian sent of God to teach Christians what Christ's way is." We hope the entire address will shortly be available in print.

What is now imperative is that the Central Committee should implement the recommendation passed on to it by Section IV on International Affairs to set up a theological study commission with appropriate representation of the pacifist and non-pacifist positions in its membership.

Amsterdam six years ago advanced this proposal. The report of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs to Evanston stated that extensive and effective discussion of the basic issue of the Christian attitude toward war was impossible at Evanston since the Amsterdam proposal had not been acted upon.

This was correct, but what an astounding and horrible admission for the ecumenical movement to make in this era of the H-bomb!

If the setting up of this study commission is

A THIRD CAMP FILM



If the Third Camp movement, now truly beginning to take shape, had had the funds and the organisation at its disposal it could scarcely have done better than to have commissioned Anthony Asquith to direct a film outlining its aims for a mass public, writes Robert Greacen. Private enterprise has got in first and the Rank organisation must for once be congratulated.

Now I do not wish to suggest that "The Young Lovers" (Leicester Square Theatre) is perfect either as film art or as propaganda for a good cause. But it is at any rate a very sincere film indeed and one that ought to cause a few ripples in the public mind.

The story traces the love affair of a young American (played by David Knight) who works in the code room of the US London Embassy and a girl (Odile Versois), met by chance at Covent Garden, who turns out to be the daughter of a Communist ambassador. True love has a hard time as usual. There are two sets of bone-headed Cold War officials to be reckoned with.

Unfortunately the denouement is somewhat melodramatic; and presumably Mr.

Asquith believed that his public would be disappointed without a conventional happy ending. In real life things might have been tragically different.

The young lovers try desperately to find a "third place" in a world cut into two by hatred and suspicion. They want the right to love each other, regardless of pass-pports and tiresome officials.

This as a film one must not miss.

Picture shows American and British intelligence officers silently looking at the dingy torn away from the yacht in which "The Young Lovers" had made their escape in a storm. They believe, wrongly, that the pair have perished. With the officers, and holding a letter left for him by his daughter, is a Communist ambassador. The letter reads, "We are running away, not because we are guilty, but because you will not believe we are innocent. You who live in separate worlds no longer believe in innocence because you no longer believe in love. Without love, you will destroy not each other but yourselves. Anna."

H-BOMB MARCH

From Page One

damage as was done to Germany in the whole of the last war.

It was a tragedy that any factory in Britain should be making atom weapons. Armaments and conscription alike were the curse of the modern world. A nobler civilisation and Christian values could not be served while they existed.

After the meeting the audience were invited to the nearby Westminster Friends Meeting House where a Peace Exhibition had opened earlier in the day. A buffet provided refreshments for those staying on to an "Any Questions" session held in the evening. This will be reported in Peace News next week. The Meeting House was packed to capacity, many having to stand.

The Standing Joint Pacifist Committee unites the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union and the Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ.

SYBIL MORRISON is on holiday

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Friday, Sept. 24 sees the launching of a new central London Peace News selling campaign for which Peace News staff will provide the spearhead. Harry Mister of Peace News office writes:

COME OUT ON THE STREETS WITH US!

THERE is a top priority job for Peace News readers this Autumn. Dr. Soper, at the great London rally on the Hydrogen Bomb, made an impassioned appeal to carry the campaign into the streets. "We cannot wait for people to come to meetings . . . we must become human placards and, if need be, look a fool for peace's sake."

During the summer months this campaign has gathered momentum, its Autumn drive was launched in a great way by the march and Trafalgar Square Rally last Saturday. Well over a hundred keen people became human placards, sold Peace News, gave out literature and stewarded a memorable gathering.

We need those hundred people, and other hundreds besides all over the country, out each weekend reminding the British public that peace is round the corner, if they really make a bid for it.

After the H-bomb scare has come H-bomb apathy. "It'll wipe us all out, can't be avoided, forget it and enjoy yourself while you can." How wrong they are—and how urgent it is for us to make the facts known before, through lack of public pressure, the chance for new policies has gone.

Peace News has its own special contribution to make. It provides the facts. It is, itself, the basis for the week in, week out, street campaign of peace education.

★

Our London street selling campaign will be launched on Friday September 24, when members of Peace News staff will join with all available volunteers in manning Central and West London's crowd centres from 5.30 to 7.30 p.m. Placards will be carried, Peace News sold, and each seller will have information about the "Renounce the H-bomb" Campaign.

Join us in launching the London campaign. Set aside just two hours each Friday evening to take your stand for peace. And remember, the Peace News posters carry a message even if sales are few.

LETTERS

From page five

retariat of the Commonwealth of World Citizens, and it was at once decided to take action. First the French steamship company was written to obtain all the facts. This was at the end of June, 1954. On June 28 the company replied giving the required information and expressing the hope that the Commonwealth would be able to find a solution. Levitsky asylum, and when the *Bretagne* docks would make fourteen crossings of the Atlantic. Without delay the Commonwealth communicated all the details to the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in London. The representative for the UK, Mr. G. G. Kullmann, acted with commendable promptitude. The Commonwealth received an answer by return of post saying, "I have not failed to communicate the contents of your letter to our Headquarters at Geneva, who will no doubt do everything in their power to obtain some landing permit for Mr. Levitsky."

At Geneva equally urgent action was taken and a special approach was made by the High Commissioner to the Foreign Ministry of the Dominican Republic. On August 27 it was announced that the Republic would grant Levitsky asylum, and when the *Bretagne* docks at Marseilles on September 7 he will receive a visa from the Dominican Consulate.

So finally this unhappy victim of international tension will have a home and can start a new life, and the Commonwealth of World Citizens, the unarmed people which serves all peoples without distinction, thankfully records another small service to humanity successfully performed.

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD.

H-BOMB CAMPAIGN • and now Glasgow

The Society of Friends, Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Peace Pledge Union in Glasgow are holding a week of open-air meetings as part of the national campaign on the H-bomb.

On Sunday Sept. 12 Sybil Morrison will launch the campaign at Queens Park Gates at 7.30. It is hoped that Clifford MacQuire will close the week at the same site on the following Sunday. On the other nights of the week the meetings will be held at the corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street at 7.30 and local speakers from the three organisations will take the platform.

There will be no open-air meeting on Sat. Sept. 18 but there is a public meeting in Community House, Clyde Street when Clifford MacQuire will speak on "Christians and the H-bomb."

The open-air meetings will be combined with intensive leaflet distribution and it is hoped that many members of the organisations will turn out to help with this work. Further details from Campbell Wilkie, 12 Baldric Rd., Glasgow, W.3.

IN AUSTRALIA

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, Quaker and Peace Pledge Union Sponsor, will be one of the principal speakers at a series of peace rallies in Melbourne, Australia, next week.

Curtain raiser to the series of meetings was an H-bomb campaign meeting held in Malvern Town Hall on September 1.

Whether or not you sell on this occasion, all London readers are invited to a planning meeting immediately following the street selling on September 24, at Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2. (Side door, Hop Gardens entrance). Refreshments will be available from 7.30 p.m. onwards.

Your suggestions and questions will be welcomed by Peace News Editor, J. Allen Skinner and other members of Peace News staff. Principally we shall be organising future Peace News activities in London. We need your experience and ideas to ensure that the paper makes a maximum effective witness for peace.

Here are some of the pitches where it is planned to sell Peace News each Friday:

Trafalgar Square
Leicester Square

Oxford Street
Strand
Piccadilly Circus

Kingsway

Send us your name and address (not later than September 21), say where you would like to sell. We will send you a dozen Peace News and a poster, invoiced at 3s. a doz. Unsold copies and money should be returned the following week to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, or at the "planning" meeting.

If you live in the Home Counties or the provinces, organise your own local group.

If you have never sold in the streets before, do not let that fact deter you. You can sell alongside an "old hand" in London on September 24 if you wish.

Lots of people are sympathetic, there are no legal problems if you stand on curb or in gutter, some folk like to "talk it over" with you, you will get to know them and make regular readers as the weeks go on. Expect a slow start, but think of the thousands who can't miss your poster, the thousands who, like you, want peace desperately and are waiting for a lead that gives real hope for a tolerable future.

This is the Peace News readers' job this Autumn. Be with us on September 24, and keep it up.

WORLD CHURCHES

From page one

"Christian temper and love and understanding to bear upon . . . mutual assistance."

Finally, the resolution, taking the suggestion of President Eisenhower when he addressed the Assembly, called upon Christians everywhere "to join in prayer to Almighty God, that He will guide the governments and the peoples in the ways of justice and peace."

The Assembly got no further than the 1948 Amsterdam Conference on the several positions of Christians vis-a-vis war. The report of the section on International Affairs said on this point:

"It is not enough for the churches to proclaim that war is evil. They must study afresh the Christian approaches to peace, taking into account both Christian pacifism as a mode of witness and the conviction of Christians that in certain circumstances military action is justifiable."

There were parts of this report devoted to under-developed areas. The section asserted that "administering authorities should consider placing non-self-governing territories not yet ready for self-government or independence under the UN Trusteeship system." It also suggested that "specific assurance of independence or self-government should be given and administering authorities should take reasonable risks in speeding progress toward this goal."

One interesting clash on international relations came at an Assembly Press conference. Charles Malik, consultant to the Assembly and ambassador from Lebanon to the UN, warned that the Second Assembly of the World Council "is not a UN conference, nor is it a conference of the partisans of peace."

Dr. Eric Baker, Secretary of the British Methodist Conference, replied that "unless this Second Assembly can send out to the world some new lead in this matter of the inevitability of war, it will have failed."

On August 25, a petition protesting against the use of nuclear weapons, signed by 33,000 Japanese youth was presented to the Section on International Affairs by the Rev. Michio Kozaki, Moderator of the United Church of Christ in Japan.

Initiated by the Tokyo District of the United Church, the resolution urged the World Council to consider a resolution addressed to all governments that "every nation should prohibit the production, use, and experimentation of atomic and hydrogen bombs."

These are only a few highlights of the concerns shown at Evanston for peace and improved international relations.

Yet in truth it can be said that, amid the avalanche of resolutions and messages on all topics, the Assembly's voice on war and peace became muffled.

The pessimism shown by the Assembly was reflected in the action of the newly-elected Central Committee meeting in Evanston after the adjournment of the Assembly. It received invitations from Greece and Japan for the meeting of the Third Assembly in 1960, but deferred action not knowing the tensions in the world six years hence.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.I